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INSCRIBED SEPULCHRAL VASES FROM ALEXANDRIA.

[*Plate 1*].

Mr. G. L. Feuardent has now in his possession, in New York, a series of about 75 vases, collected during the past few years by Signor P. Pugioli from tombs at Alexandria, Egypt, the most of them, as I am informed through Mr. Feuardent, having been found about a mile east of the present limits of the city near the sea, at the depth of twenty to thirty feet beneath the debris of centuries. A large number of tombs were found in this vicinity, partly cut in the solid rock, partly built up. One that was discovered about a year ago had a rock chamber 12 to 14 feet square, and contained as many as fifty vases, about thirty of which were in a good state of preservation and bore a few inscriptions. Beside the vases, this tomb also contained "a number of tablets, with paintings badly preserved, and a few inscriptions." These inscriptions are Greek. Nothing was found in the vases but ashes and small pieces of charred bones, and they were all tightly sealed with plaster when found. These vases are said to be of a poorer quality than those of the Pugioli collection. They are in this country, but still unpacked and I have not been able to see them. In July, 1883, in another tomb at the distance of a few rods from this tomb a vase was found containing a hoard of over 200 silver coins, all of which are declared to belong to the period of Ptolemy Soter and the early part of the reign of Philadelphus, according to the classification made by Mr. R. S. Poole of the British Museum. Some of these coins I have seen.

No information is to be had as to the discovery of particular pieces of the Pugioli collection. Usually several vases were found in the same tomb, and from these a selection was made; most of them coming from the cemetery above mentioned, while a few came from the west side of the city near the present harbor, within or close by

the limits of the city of to-day. In the collection are several lamps and some other small objects, which will not detain us.

The vases we are to consider are of three classes, in which individual pieces may differ slightly in height or shape, but still closely resemble each other. Each of these classes has its representative on the accompanying plate, and they may be distinguished as white, black, and salmon. They are about 18 inches in height, and the white and salmon are the common *hydriæ*, probably resembling the silver one displayed to the angry multitude by Agathocles as containing the bones and ashes of Ptolemy Philopator, just dead (Polyb. xv. 25, 6-11), and exactly like one found in 1855 by Dr. W. C. Prime, sunk in the bottom of a tomb and entirely covered in with cement, within a short distance from the graves now under consideration, east of Alexandria (Boat Life in Egypt and Nubia, p. 43). They have a small handle at each side, and a larger one running from shoulder to lip behind. The black variety has only two handles, as seen in the plate, formed of a twisted strand. The body of these is ribbed vertically, with vines of ivy in white about the neck and another about the body below. One has two medallions in relief in front and two in duplicate behind, one representing a winged female holding a cornucopia, with garments floating behind; the other a Herakles leaning on his club, with the lion's skin knotted about his shoulders and lifted by the breeze.

The white vases are of a rather coarse, dark-red clay, over which has been laid a white stucco-ground to receive painting. The colors have been considerably damaged by time and incrustation, but in some cases they are still pretty fresh. The vase figured on the plate exhibits a head of no mean merit, but the workmanship of the others is coarser. Another bears a Medusa's head with wriggling snakes, supported on the left by a helmet with eagle's head as crest, on the right by a cuirass. A third exhibits a cuirass between a round shield on the left, and a pair of greaves on the right. The greaves have ties of blue, the rest being red and yellow. Others of this class are festooned with *taeniae* in varied forms and varied colors, red, rose, pink, blue, yellow, green. The ribbons are arranged for the most part in the usual sepulchral style. One vase only of this variety bears an inscription, which was incised about the neck on the shoulder after the stucco was laid on. On the body of this vase a wine-jar is painted in blue.

The third class comprises nearly three-fourths of the collection. They are unglazed, the clay is good, light and sonorous, the color of a light salmon of differing shades, the natural color of the paste. Such as bear inscriptions are ornamented sparingly with ivy leaves or other vines, horizontal bands and a few other conventional ornaments coarsely laid on. The others are painted more lavishly with similar ornamentation, besides dolphins, a genius and ibex vis-a-vis, four pegasi with heads like sea-horses, and some of the feathers of their wings emphasized by incising after painting but before baking, some swans, a human figure, and so on.

The mouths of some of the vases were closed with terra cotta covers, like the black one in the plate, fitting loosely and easily removed by the handle; others were stopped by a small black patera imbedded in plaster which filled the mouth securely and formed a covering overlapping it. Some of the ashes still remain in the jars, and a few pieces of calcined bones. Outside, all were covered to a greater or less extent with a deposit of lime formed by the infiltration of water from lime rocks, and the acids employed to remove this have unfortunately destroyed several of the inscriptions to such a degree that a few traces only remain of the original ink.

The inscriptions are of two kinds, those laid on with a reed in black ink, and those that are incised; and in regarding them from a palæographic point of view it is necessary to keep this fact in mind. Where the reed is used we have all the suppleness and freedom that the scribe would show upon papyrus, and therefore the forms of the letters are to be compared with those of the MSS., rather than with the lapidary type. Even in letters incised in the hard pottery (for most of the inscriptions seem cut after baking), a continual attempt to approach the reed forms is plainly apparent, as where a sigma is formed like a wide V laid horizontally. ϱ is regularly uncial, E , M and Σ usually so, and H catches the same curve in its vertical limbs as under the reed; often so II . In one case, within the square E a round one is cut.

We will now proceed to consider the inscriptions themselves, arranging those drawn with the reed first. A period is placed under letters which are indistinct, but still show traces enough to render them certain. Except in fac-similes, no attempt is made to reproduce the extremely varied forms of the letters.

1.

On body of vase, below band in front, as on plate. So are the rest unless specified. Fac-simile obtained by tracing; reduced $2\frac{1}{2}$ times;

Λ Β ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΗΜΟΥ ΔΙΑΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΥ
ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΕ ΠΙΓΕΝΟΥ ΦΑΛΑΚΡΗΣ

Λ β, μηνός Πανήμου, διὰ Θευδότου, Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἐπεγένους Φαλασ-
άριος Κρής.

2.

Roughly done; doubtful whether ε or ιε is to be read at end of first line, probably ιε; last line badly blurred;

Λ Γ ΔΙΟΥ [ι]ε
ΔΙΑΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΟΥ
ΘΕΩΝΔΟΥ
C A M O Θ Ρ Α Ι Κ Ο C

Λ γ', Δίου [ι]ε, διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ, Θεώνδου¹ Σαμόθρακος.

3.

Letters of ΑΝΑΞΙΛΑΟΥ approach lapidary type, the α having the v-shaped bar. Though there is space between τ ε and ε ο in the fourth line for an additional letter, none appears to have been there.

Λ Ε ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΚΕ
ΔΙΑΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΟΥ
ΑΝΑΞΙΛΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤ Ε ΟC
ΑΧΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΘΕΩΡΟΥ
ΔΥΜΑΙΟΥ

Λ ε', Πανάμου κε, διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ, Ἀναξιλάου τοῦ Ἀρι-
στέος, Ἀχαιοῦ ἀρχιθεώρου Δυμαίου.

¹This genitive may be compared with ταφή Ἀμμωνος, and similar phrases on Egyptian sepulchral tablets of wood. *Revue Arch.*, 1875, p. 178.

4.

Badly injured by acids

Θ ΜΕΧΕΙΡ . .
 ΔΑΜ Κ . ΕΑΡΧΟΥ
 . . . ΡΟCΒΟΙ
 ΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤ . .

[L] Θ', Μεχειρ . . , Δαμ[ίας τοῦ] Κ[λ]εάρχου [θεω]ρὸς Βοι-
 [ώτιος], διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ.

5.

Fac-simile obtained as in No. 1. It can be compared with the plate which, however, shows a defect in the vase that makes the $\bar{\Lambda}$ look like \bar{A} . Reduced 2 to 1.

Λ Θ ΥΠΕΡΒΕΡΕΤΑΙΟΥ $\bar{\Lambda}$
 ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ $\bar{\Xi}$
 ΤΙΜΑΣΙΘΕΟΥ ΤΟΥ
 ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥ ΡΟΔΙΟΥ
 ΠΡΕCΒΕΥΤΟΥ
 ΔΙΑC ΔΙΟΥ ΝΗΡΑΙΟΥ

L Θ', 'Υπερβερεταίου $\bar{\Lambda}$, Φαρμουθὶ $\bar{\Xi}$, Τιμασιθέου τοῦ Διονυσίου
 'Ροδίου πρεσβευτοῦ, διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ.

6.

Letters large, not very carefully made, quite like the papyri,
 H resembling h,

L Θ CΩΤΙΩΝ
 ΚΛΕΩΝΟC
 ΔΕΛΦΟC
 ΘΕΩΡΟCΤΑ
 CΩΤΗΡΙΑ
 ΕΠΑΝΓΕΛΛΩΝ
 ΔΙΑΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
 ΑΓΟΡΑCΤΟΥ

L θ', Σωτίων Κλέωνος Δελφός θεωρός τὰ Σωτήρια ἐπανγγέλλων,
 διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ.

7.

Under the foot in small letters. The last line is along the opposite margin of the circle and reads in the contrary direction. On the shoulder is incised ΙΔ. The vase is smaller than the average.

ΘΑΡCΥΦΑC
 ΘΕΩΡΟCΚΡΗC
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟC
 ΔΙΑCΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟC
 L ΙΔ ΑΠΕ . . .

Θαρσύφας θεωρός Κρής Ἀπολλώνιος, διὰ Σαραπίωνος. L ιδ',
 Ἀπε[λλαίου] . .

8.

Large bold letters; lines 1 and 2 between the horizontal bands, line 3 below them;

ΔΙΑCΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟC
 L Κ ΗΓΗCΙΟΥ
 ΤΟΥ ΑΓΛΩΦΑΝΟΥC

Διὰ Σαραπίωνος, L κ', Ἡγησίου τοῦ Ἀγλωφάνους.

9.

Letters small, O and C much smaller than the others; not handsomely done, but rather better than the specimen of "Eudoxi Ars," Wattenbach, Scrip. Gr. Sp., Tab. I., which the letters resemble considerably;

ΕΤΟΥÇΕΝΟCΚΑΙΕΙΚΟCΤΟΥΜΗΝΟCΛΩΙΟΥ
 ΔΙΑCΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟCΙΕΡΩΝΙΔΗCΛΑΜΠΩΝΟC
 ΦΩΚΑΙΕΥCΑΡΧΙΘΕΩΡΟC

On neck, ΕΤ. On bottom, ΑΡΧΙ, the αρ in monogram.

**Ετους ἐνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ, μηνὸς Ἀφρου, διὰ Σαραπίωνος, Ἰερωνίδης Ἀάμπωνος Φωκαεὺς ἀρχιθέωρος.*

10.

Badly injured; written in a running hand more irregular than the last line of No. 5;

. ΛΟ .
 ΤΟΥΛ . Ρ
 . . . ΑΡΟ . . .

Under the bottom of the vase, more carefully written,

ΚΑΙ
 ΘΕ
 ΜΙΔΑ

Καὶ Θεμίδα.

11.

On edge of shoulder, inscribed in black, and then painted over with a narrow band which conceals all but the tops and bottoms of the letters. Middle word uncertain.

ΚΛΗΜΙCΚΛCΑΝΟΥ(ΥΑΚΑΡΝΑΝ

Κλήμης Κασαν . . . (or Κλεαν . . .) Ἀχαρνάν.

12.

Nearly destroyed. α has the ν-bar.

. . . ΑΓΟΡΑC . .
 ΩΝΙΔΑ
 . . . αγορας ωνιδα.

13.

Many traces, but little that is intelligible or certain:

ΔΙϚΙΟΥ
 Κ ΙϚ
 Ε ΝΕΙΟΗϚ
 ΦΕ (?) Μ (?) ΙΧΑϚ
 ΥΟΙϚ

[Δ]αΐου (?)

14.

Faint and doubtful; over one handle;

ΟΝΕϚ . . . ΧΟϚ
 Υ

Ὁνεσ[ίμα]χος (?)

15.

Some certain letters, and a few traces, which I have used in supplying the forms:

. ΗΝΟϚ
 ΜΑΡΧΟϚΦ . . .
 . ΟΡ . ΥΝϚ . . .

Λ κέ μ]ηνὸς [Πολέ]μαρχος Φ [Γ]όρτυν (?) . .

16.

Desperate

Λ
 ΟΙΕ

17.

In large red letters

ΚΥΔΙ

THE FOLLOWING ARE INCISED.

18.

Cut on the shoulder, part on one side between handles, part on the other,

ΚΖ

Λ Ε ΠΑΧΩΝΑΡΠΑΛΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΡCΑΜΟΥ ↑

Λ ζ', Παχών κζ, Ἀρπάλου τοῦ Ἀρσάμου. ↑

19.

On side; letters closely resembling those made with reed. Φ has the perpendicular line cut by an arc with its cord below, as Anc. Gr. Inscr. Brit. Mus. II., No. CLX, and in many other cases.

ΦΕΙΔΩΝΑΠΩΝΟΣ

ΚΡΗCΙΤΑΝΙΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ

Φεῖδων Ἀπωνος Κρής Ἰτάνιος. Χαῖρε.

20.

Under foot of vase in a circle

ΚΛΕΟΥΣΚΡΗΣΣΗΣ

Κλεοῦς Κρήσσης.

21.

On the shoulder of the white stuccoed vase mentioned above

ΕΡΜΟΚΛΕΟΥ<ΧΙΟΥ
Ἑρμοκλέους Χίου.

22.

On shoulder

ΕΥΡΟΛΟΧΟΣ

Εὐρόλοχος.

23.

On edge of shoulder in large letters, on black band. The E has the round form cut within it.

ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ

Λευκίου.

24.

Above band, very lightly scratched, and dubious,

ΘΕΥΔΟ . ΟΥ

Θευδό[τ]ου.

25.

On shoulder

ΕΛΛΑΝΙ

Ἑλλανι.

26.

ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟ<

Πάμφιλος.

27.

On body of vase in large letters

E Y M E

28.

Small vase about six inches high, of poor workmanship and late, with stucco laid on coarsely; dog or other animal in red on one side; on the other, which is defaced on the left,

[1] ? α
ω

29.

Single letters inscribed on the bottom of lamps

α. χ. ι. ι. π.

A slight consideration of these inscriptions will show that by a strange chance we have fallen in with a series of vases containing the ashes of Greeks from the Ægean and Hellas, who have come down to Alexandria and died there. No. 1 is from Phalasarna in Crete, No. 2 from Samothrace, No. 3 from Dyme in Achaia, No. 4 from Boeotia, No. 5 from Rhodes, No. 6 from Delphi, No. 7 from Apollonia in Crete, No. 9 from Phocæa in Ionia, No. 11 from Acarnania, No. 19 from Itanus in Crete, No. 20 from Crete, No. 21 from Chios. One comes as Presbeutes, three as Theori, and two as Architheori, or leaders of the theoria. The first six are of especial importance, since they present a series extending over the space of eight years, undoubtedly under the reign of the same king, as the burial appears to have been made through the same individual, Theodotus the Agorastes. Andromes dies or is buried in the 2d year, month Panemus, the 9th of the Macedonian year; Theondas in the 3d year, and in the 1st Macedonian month, Dios; Anaxilaus in the 6th year, on the 25th of Panemus; Damias in the 9th year, during the Egyptian month, Mechir, the 6th of their year; Timasitheus in the 9th year likewise, on the 30th of Hyperberetaeus, the last Macedonian month, and on the 7th of Pharmuthi, the 8th Egyptian month; Sotion likewise in the 9th year. This was evidently a bad year for theori to visit Alexandria.

Without much experience with the Macedonian months, one might naturally suppose that from No. 5, with its twofold month, the date of the inscription could be ascertained; that whenever Pharmuthi in the movable Egyptian year would correspond to Hyperberetaeus, that would be the period at which the inscription was written. From the astronomer, Ptolemy, we know that the first of Thoth or the Egyptian New Year's day fell on the first of Nov., 280 B. C. Accordingly, at that time the Egyptian months would correspond closely with our own throughout the year, and the Macedonian months as given by Ideler (*Histor. Untersuch.* p. 236), would be only about a week behind. According to this we have the following table:

Thoth	Apellaeus	November
Phaophi	Audynaenus	December
Athyr	Peritius	January
Choeac	Dystrus	February
Tybi	Xanthicus	March
Mechir	Artemisius	April
Phamenoth	Daesius	May
Pharmuthi	Panemus	June
Pachon	Lous	July
Payni	Gorpieaus	August
Epiphi	Hyperberetaeus	September
Mesore	Dius	October

The movable Egyptian year, having no leap year, falls back one day every four years, and in order to bring Pharmuthi into conjunction with the Hyperberetaeus of Ideler's scheme, the 1st of Thoth must fall about the 1st of January, which would occur in 523 B. C., or else some 900 years A. D., both of which are impossible for our inscription. The Sothic year with its $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, beginning on the 20th of July, gives no better solution. The fact is that we are here confronted by an old problem which has exercised the ingenuity and wearied the brains of chronologists for several centuries, and especially within our own. It is a problem which exasperates and fascinates in an almost equal degree. Putting aside the double dates given by Ptolemy (which are probably arbitrary reductions from some fixed calendar), the well-known synchronism in Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 157, and some allusions in Plutarch (*Alex.* 3, 16, 75), it will be necessary here to consider only the testimony from the

monuments. This was carefully collected by Brandes (*Rheinisches Museum*, XXII., 1867, pp. 377-402), directly after the discovery of the Decree of Canopus in which a double date occurred. He found ten cases of these synchronisms which fall into three classes as follows:

1.

Rosetta Stone ; 4th Xandicus, 18th Mechir ; 196 B. c.
 Obelisk of Philae ; 2d Panemus, 22d Pachon ; 127 B. c.
 Papyr. Anastasy ; $\text{L}\alpha\theta'$, 29th Peritius, [2] Tybi ; before 100 B. c.
 Papyr. Leyden ; 29th Dius, 29th Thoth ; 101 B. c.
 Papyr. Leyden ; 14th Dius, 14th Thoth ; 89 B. c.
 Theban Cippus ; Artemisius, Phamenoth ; 45-37 B. c.

2.

Decree of Canopus ; 7th Apellaeus, 17th Tybi ; 238 B. c.

3.

Papyr. Paris ; $\text{L}\alpha\zeta'$, 30 (?) Xandicus, 25th Thoth ; 156 (?) B. c.
 Papyr. Paris ; $\text{L}\epsilon\eta'$, 4th Peritius, 25th Mesore ; 153 B. c.
 Stele of Philae ; Peritius, Epiphi ; 158 B. c.

Add the Pugioli Vase ; 30th Hyperberetaeus, 7th Pharmuthi.

Class 1 falls into two sections, an elder and a later series, in the former of which the synchronisms conform pretty closely to the use of the Egyptian movable year, but with some variations within narrow limits ; the later shows that, about the beginning of the first century B. c., the Macedonian months had been allowed, or made, to conform exactly to the Egyptian. The Decree of Canopus stands by itself. Sharpe (*Decree of Canopus*, 1870, pp. vii-xii) has explained the wide discrepancy it presents by referring it to the Sothic period which the priests were trying to introduce. The third class seems to me to embody an older system than that of the first, a system in which the Macedonian year appears to have begun about the time of the summer solstice, and which may have some connection with the Dionysian Era, dating from the first year of the reign of Philadelphus (Lepsius, *Abhandl. Koen. Ak. Wiss. Berlin*, 1859). In such a scheme the Macedonian months of all these four cases will conform within a few days, on a rough calculation, to the Egyptian of the movable

year, the greatest divergence appearing in the vase if the earlier date assumed below be taken, perhaps because it comes near the end of the year. Neither the number of days in the Macedonian months nor the method of intercalation is known. We must, however, assume a different date for No. 1 in class 3. In the first place, Brandes, (as also A. Mommsen, *Philologus*, XXVI., 1867, p. 613), has given the wrong date for the month Xandicus. Silvestre, (*Paléographie Universelle*, II. Pl. 1), presents a fac-simile of the papyrus, and, if this is trustworthy, there can be no possible doubt that the reading is Δ instead of λ . In the second place, Silvestre believes that the date, "year 26," belongs to Philadelphus, judging from palæographic reasons, which unsupported cannot carry much weight. The later date has no very strong grounds to sustain it, and if our scheme be applied to it, the month-dates will not coincide at all; whereas, if it be assigned to the year 260 B. C., they accord pretty well for Macedonians. The question, however, will still remain an open one till further evidence is obtained. The close harmony in these four cases seems to preclude the supposition that these departures from the later system are due to carelessness of scribes, though we find something of this kind in Attic months (Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIV., p. 397).

Although we fail to determine the date of Theodotus by this method, something more substantial comes from No. 6 of our series of vases. Sotion, the son of Cleon, a Delphian, visits Alexandria as theorus to announce the festival of the Soteria, naturally to be held at Delphi. This festival was instituted by the Aetolians as a thank-offering to Zeus Soter and Apollo, soon after the deliverance of Greece from the Gallic horde, which marched as far as Delphi, under Brennus, but was finally driven back or destroyed in 279/8 B. C. The festival is known only from inscriptions, but these give us considerable information concerning it for about 100 years after its foundation. It was quinquennial at the outset and under the superintendence of the Aetolians, but afterwards was presided over by the Amphictyons, and then became annual, as Dittenberger thinks (*Sylloge Inscr. Gr.* p. 593) not before 229 B. C., when the Aetolians gained the complete supremacy in the Amphictyonic League. When the festival was to be founded theori were sent out to various parts of the Greek world to announce its establishment, to invite attendance, and to welcome participation in

the games. The fragmentary Athenian inscription, C. I. A. ii, 323, Ditt. S. I. G., 149, and the more complete Chian, *Bullet. Cor. Hellen.*, V. p. 300 seq., Ditt. S. I. G. 150., describe how the deputies (*θεωροί*) went to Athens and Chios, *ἐπαγγέλλειν τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων*, and how these cities received the announcement, *δέχεσθαι τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων*. One of the deputies to Chios was Cleon, and it is easy to suppose that our Sotion may be a son of this Gleon, who was a Delphian, and that he was despatched to Alexandria for the same purpose, where the fatal season cut him off. Dittenberger (S. I. G., 149, 150,) has fixed the date of this embassy to Chios and Athens in the spring of 277/6, and the spring of this year falls into the 9th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who came to the throne, according to Sharpe, (*Hist. Eg. I.*, p. 323,) in Nov. 285 B. C., and it is the 9th year that our vase gives us. These coincidences are striking, and at all events fix the upward limit of our inscription. Nor is this invalidated by the fact that the coins of the early part of the reign of Philadelphus are thought to be dated continuously from the beginning of his father's reign. Révillout has shown (*Rev. Égyptologique*, 1880, pp. 2-22,) that the papyri of that period are dated from the first year of Philadelphus, even while he was associated with his father, and while the fiction of this association was kept up, long after the latter's death. Neither does the palæography of our vases preclude this date. Assuming the golden lamina discovered in the foundations of the temple at Canopus, containing an inscription of Ptolemy Euergetes I, 247-222 B. C., (a fac-simile of which is given, C. I. G., 4694, and better still by Letronne, *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. de l'Ég.*, pl. v.), as a datable and indisputable standard, we find there all the distinctive peculiarities of our series of six inscriptions, even to an attempt at the v-barred A, which also occurs in a Cyrenaic inscription assigned by Franz to 276 B. C., (C. I. G. 5184). This lamina, too, did not give the same facility as a firm surface and a reed, for the letters were punched. Again, it is plainly a sign of the early years of the Ptolemies that so many names of Macedonian months occur here. They are exceedingly rare in Egypt, and disappear altogether, so far as I know, in the Roman epoch, B. C. 45-37 being the latest I have found. Of Macedonian months used alone, Letronne said (*Recueil*, I. p. 262) he knew of but one instance. Moreover, it was just at this time that Dyme in Achaia was rising into new importance as one of the four towns that formed the Achæan League in 280 B. C. Lastly, in

the reign of Philadelphus, we find the Delphians granting the right of promanteia to the Alexandrians in a body (Inscr. in Curtius, *Anecdota Delph.* No. 56).

Still, the name of Cleon is a very common one at Delphi, especially in the inscriptions of about the beginning of the second century B. C.—large numbers of which have been found. I have looked in vain, however, for any mention of Sotion son of Cleon, which indeed could not be expected if he had been cut off in his youthful manhood at Alexandria. The ninth year of Euergetes, Philadelphus' successor, would have been a convenient one to explain the presence of the other theori there, as it was the year of the Decree of Canopus, a great festival year. The theori to announce the recurrence of the Soteria were re-appointed every four years (*Chian Inscr.* S. I. G. 150, 29; 207, 3), so long as the festival was quinquennial, but the ninth year of Euergetes falls in 238, just half way between the two Soteria, 240–236 B. C. If the festival was still quinquennial in the ninth year of Philopator, B. C. 213, this would again fall between the two celebrations, 216–212. After it became annual we have nothing to guide us. How long the Soteria continued in existence, if at all after the downfall of the Aetolian power, 189 B. C., does not appear, but as the Aetolians make no mention of it where we should certainly expect it, by the side of the Pythian and Olympian, in their decree (S. I. G. 215, 18) accepting the festival proclaimed by Eumenes about 175 B. C., it seems to have lasted no more than a century, within which period our inscription may safely be placed, and with far greater likelihood in the earlier part than the later. And here we may add the testimony of the coins mentioned above, discovered in the vicinity, and in similar tombs, as it seems. As collateral evidence this is of some value, though it did not come to my knowledge until I had reached the above conclusions from the other sources.

The recurring phrase, *διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ*, requires some comment. The Agorastes¹ is well known from the familiar passage in *Xen. Mem.* i. 5, 2, as the slave who does the marketing for the family. But who is the Agorastes here, that has the charge for eight years of the burial of the accredited deputies to the Alexandrian court? I should think that he would probably be some official

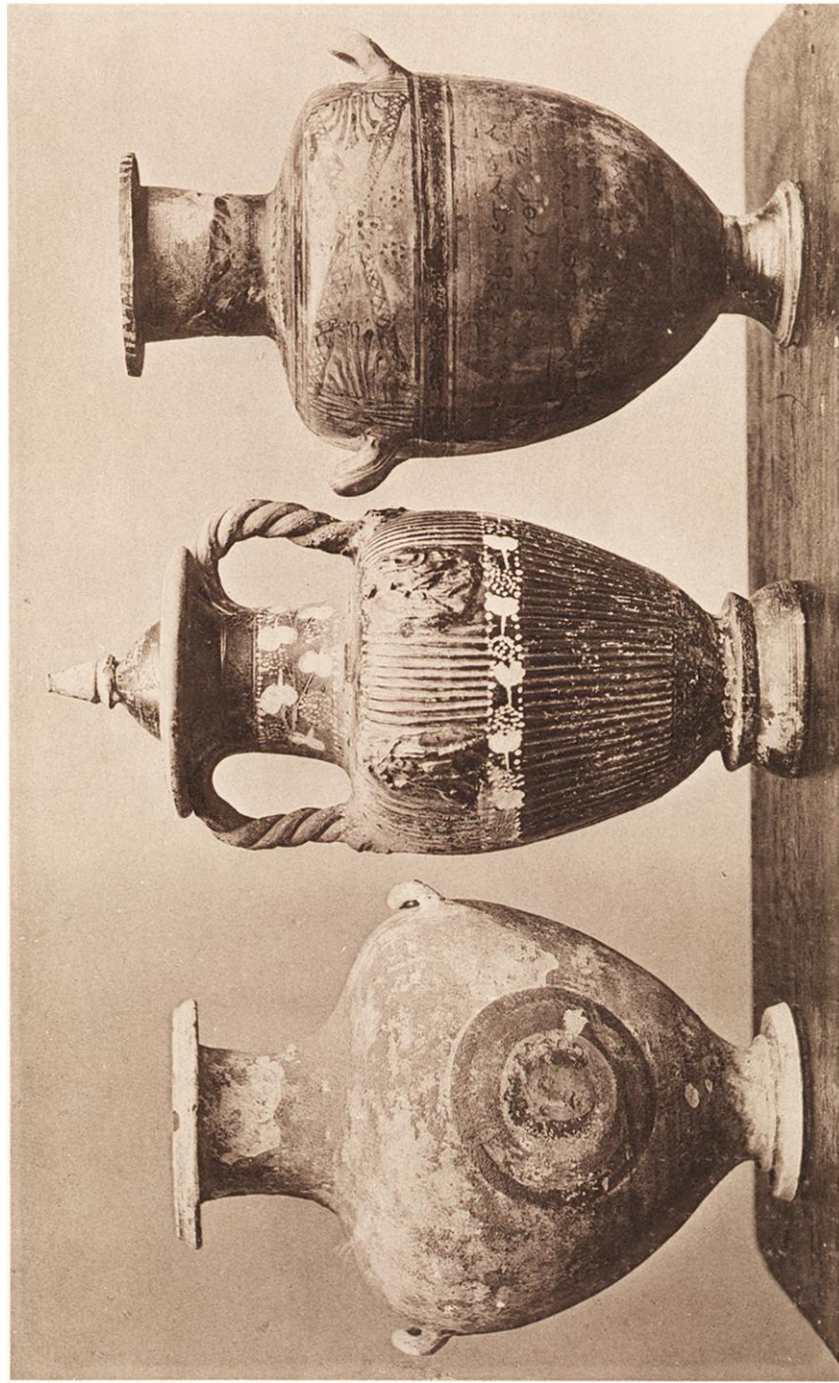
¹ The alternative that *Ἀγοραστοῦ* may be the name of the father of Theodotus seems very remote.

of the palace, the steward or purveyor, whose duty it would be to provide for the guests during their stay, and to bury them if they died while there. The Septuagint uses the word in the book of Tobit, i. 13, where Tobit says of himself, that when he was carried captive to Nineveh, "The most High gave me grace and favor before Enemessar, so that I was his *purveyor*."² We may compare the Latin *Opsonator Poppaeae Aug.* (Orelli, L. Inscr. 2932), and *Liviae Aug.* (ibid. 2933). In the so-called Letter of Aristeeas, and in the paraphrase by Josephus, Antiq. Jud. xii, 2, 12, on the occasion of the arrival of the Septuagint translators at the court of "Ptolemy Philadelphus," we have a description of the manner in which embassies were received there. However apochryphal the account may be in the main fact, it may be trusted as a picture of the times. Here we are told that Dorotheus was especially assigned to provide for the guests in all things, and that this was a regular custom, whenever deputies came from kings or cities, and that Dorotheus had the superintendence of all that was done (τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἀπασῶν διὰ τῆς τοῦ Δωροθέου συντάξεως ἐπιτελουμένων, Galland, Bibliotheca Vet. Patr. II., p. 791). The special title which Dorotheus had is not given. Lumbroso (Recherches sur l'Économie Politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides), following Letronne and Franz, thinks that the office of Dorotheus was that of ἐδέατρος, and in the long list of functionaries of the country which he has gathered no Agorastes appears; but as Athenaeus (IV. 70-71) shows that the word ἀγοραστής later gave place to ὀφωνάτωρ, so the earlier Agorastes at the court of the Ptolemies may have later received the title of Edeatros, especially as Soter himself had been the Edeatros of Alexander. Still the Agorastes may have been an inferior officer, a buyer merely. It will be observed that Sarapion has no title indicated, though he appears in three inscriptions extending over eight years. I hope that some one else will be able to throw more light on this point.

If my conclusions as to the early date of these vases be accepted, it is needless to dwell upon the great value which they possess palaeographically and historically, and as unique specimens, in their way, of inscribed memorials of the dead.

AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM.

² Cf. i. 17, where he adds, "And if I saw any of my nation dead, or cast about the walls of Nineveh, I buried him."



VASES FROM ALEXANDRIA.